

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1927

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 6613

DISTO

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, CCD

SUBJECT: CCD - MEETINGS ON SOVIET MDW PROPOSAL - SUMMARY

1. US REPRESENTATIVES PARTICIPATED, IN ACCORDANCE WITH INSTRUCTIONS STATE 192338, IN CCD INFORMAL MEETINGS TO DISCUSS SUBJECT OF USSR PROPOSAL ON NEW TYPES OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. THESE MEETINGS (FOUR SESSIONS) TOOK PLACE DURING PERIOD 9 THROUGH 12 AUGUST 1976. THE SUBJECT WAS ALSO ADDRESSED IN FORMAL STATEMENTS TO CCD ON AUGUST 17, 1976.

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2. MEETINGS WERE HELD PURSUANT TO UNGA (30TH) RESOLUTION

A/C.1/L.711/REV.1, ON WHICH US ABSTAINED. US PARTICIPATION WAS AGREED UPON SEPARATELY.

3. COUNTRIES IN ATTENDANCE WERE NORMAL CCD REPRESENTATION.

4. REPRESENTATIVES OF BULGARIA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, HUNGARY, ITALY, MONGOLIA, NETHERLANDS, POLAND, SWEDEN, USSR, UNITED KINGDOM, UNITED STATES PARTICIPATED AS SPEAKERS.

5. TWO DOCUMENTS WERE ENTERED INTO THE RECORD, BOTH BY USSR:

(A) CCD/511, 3 AUGUST 1976, DRAFT AGREEMENT ON THE PROHIBITION OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND MANUFACTURE OF NEW TYPES OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND NEW SYSTEMS OF SUCH WEAPONS.

(B) CCD/514, 10 AUGUST 1976, ON DEFINITIONS OF NEW TYPES OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND NEW SYSTEMS OF SUCH WEAPONS.

6. THE GENERAL NOTION AS TO WHAT WAS TO BE PROHIBITED UNDER SOVIET PROPOSAL WAS STATED BY SOVIET EXPERT FOKIN IN APRIL 1976 INFORMAL CCD DISCUSSIONS:

BEGIN TEXT. ON THE BASIS OF GENERAL SCIENTIFIC CONSIDERATIONS AND AS A DEVELOPMENT OF ARTICLE I OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT, IT SHOULD BE SPECIFIED THAT THE PROHIBITION SHOULD COVER NEW TYPES OF SYSTEMS OF WMD WHICH ARE BASED ON PHYSICAL, CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES OTHER THAN ANY OF THOSE EXISTING AT THE TIME OF THE ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE AGREEMENT. END TEXT.

7. IN THEIR PAPERS FOR RECORD, IN PREPARED STATEMENTS IN INFORMAL MEETINGS, AND IN BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS, MAIN SOVIET EMPHASIS WAS ON THE HUMAN TARGET. THIS EMPHASIS WAS ELABORATED INTO REFERENCE TO MEANS FOR PROMPTLY EXTINGUISHING HUMAN LIFE, FOR CAUSING DEATH OVER LONG TERM (PERHAPS OVER SEVERAL GENERATIONS), FOR DESTROYING HUMAN

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LIFE THROUGH PRODUCTION OF DELETERIOUS CHANGES IN FEATURES OF THE ENVIRONMENT (NATURAL AND MAN-MADE) THAT ARE OR MAY BE SIGNIFICANT TO HUMAN SUSTENANCE, FOR DAMAGE TO POSTERITY BY ATTACK ON THE GENITALS AND GENETIC SYSTEM, FOR INDUCING DISABLING PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL CONDITIONS, ETC.

8. NEW, PRESENTLY UNKNOWN, WAYS AND MEANS FOR DOING ALL OF THESE KINDS OF MISCHIEF ARE (SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES

ARGUED) LURKING IN THE CORPUS OF FUTURE SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE.

9. THE ENVISIONED EVILS OF FUTURE SCIENCE ARE TO BE PROHIBITED BY THE PROPOSED AGREEMENT WHILE, AT THE SAME TIME (ALSO BY A PROVISION OF THE PROPOSED AGREEMENT), NO LIMITATIONS ARE TO BE IMPOSED ON SCIENCE ITSELF AND ITS PEACEFUL APPLICATIONS.

10. POSSIBLE MILITARY MOTIFICATION FOR TURNING NEW SCIENCE TO BROAD ATTACKS ON THE HUMAN TARGET AS CHARACTERIZED IN PARA 7, ABOVE, WAS ALSO MENTIONED BY FOKIN IN APRIL 1976:

BEGIN TEXT. IT IS ALSO NECESSARY TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE POSSIBILITY OF A CHANGE IN THE NATURE OF FUTURE WARS. MILITARY THINKING MAY PERHAPS COME TO REJECT TRADITIONAL MILITARY ENCOUNTERS, CONFRONTATIONS OF ARMIES AND ARMAMENTS, AND ATTEMPTS TO ACHIEVE THE MASSIVE AND INSTANTANEOUS EXTERMINATION OF PEOPLE. IT MAY RATHER TURN TO THE TACTICS OF USING MEANS OF WARFARE WHICH HAVE A GRADUAL EFFECT; WHICH DO NOT HAVE THE CAPACITY TO KILL BUT STILL EXERCISE A DAMAGING EFFECT ON THE HUMAN ORGANISM; WHICH, BY SAPPING A MAN'S VITALITY AND RESISTANCE TO AGGRESSION, MAY UNDERMINE HIS ABILITY TO PROVIDE HIMSELF WITH FOOD AND PROTECT HIMSELF AGAINST THE ELEMENTS AND INFECTION; AND WHICH, IN THE END, MAY BRING ABOUT HIS DESTRUCTION. END TEXT.

11. THE IDEAS ARTICULATED IN APRIL, AS NOTED IN PARAS 7 AND 10, ABOVE, WERE ELABORATED IN SOVIET LANGUAGE IN CCD/514 CONCERNING POSSIBLE "TARGETS" AND "NATURE OF THE EFFECT" OF POTENTIAL NEW MDW, AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT.

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(B) TARGETS

MAN: FLUID MEDIA OF THE HUMAN ORGANISM (CYTOPLASM, BLOOD PLASMA, LYMPH, ETC.), CELLS, TISSUE, ORGANS, REGULATORY SYSTEMS, REPRODUCTIVE SYSTEM, GENETIC TRANSFER SYSTEMS, BIOLOGICAL DEFENSE SYSTEMS (IMMUNITY THRESHOLDS FOR SPECIFIC BIOLOGICAL, CHEMICAL, RADIOLOGICAL AND OTHER EFFECTS) AND THE BEHAVIOR (PSYCHIC, VESTIBULAR AND OTHER EFFECTS) OF THE HUMAN POPULATION AS A WHOLE.

HUMAN ENVIRONMENT: EDAPHIC ELEMENTS (SOIL, WATER, BODIES, ETC.); BIOTIC ELEMENTS (CROPS AND LIVESTOCK CONSTITUTING PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF FOOD, FOODSTUFFS DERIVED FROM THEM); CLIMATIC ELEMENTS; GEOPHYSICAL ELEMENTS -- THE LITHOSPHERE (CRUST, UPPER MANTLE), THE HYDROSPHERE, THE TROPOSPHERE

(ATMOSPHERIC CIRCULATION, HYDROMETEROLOGY, COMPOSITION, ETC.), THE STRATOSPHERE AND UPPER ATMOSPHERE (OZONE LAYER AND OTHER ELEMENTS), TERRESTRIAL FIELDS (GRAVITATIONAL, MAGNETIC, ELECTRO-MAGNETIC), NEAR SPACE (RADIATION BELTS, RADIATION AND PARTICLE FLUX, ETC.).

MAN-MADE PRODUCTS: INSTALLATIONS AND NETWORKS VITALLY IMPORTANT FOR HUMAN EXISTENCE.

(C) NATURE OF THE EFFECT.

MASS ANNIHILATION OF PEOPLE AND POPULATION, THEIR DEGRADATION AND EXTINCTION, LARGE-SCALE PERMANENT (IRREVERSIBLE) AND TEMPORARY LOSS OF CERTAIN HUMAN ABILITIES, DESTRUCTION AND INCAPACITATION OF VITALLY IMPORTANT INSTALLATIONS AND NETWORKS.

12. CCD/514 ALSO CONTAINS LANGUAGE ON "MEANS OF PRODUCING THE EFFECT", AS FOLLOWS:

(A) MEANS OF PRODUCING THE EFFECT.

PHYSICAL: THE DIRECT ACTION OF EXPLOSIONS (BLAST, THERMAL, ETC.), SHOCK WAVES, ACOUSTIC WAVES, ELECTROMAGNETIC WAVES IN THE RADIO RANGE (NON-IONIZING RADIATION AND EQUIVALENT RADIATIONS OF CHARGED PARTICLES), ELECTRO-CONFIDENTIAL

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MAGNETIC WAVES IN THE OPTICAL RANGE (LIGHT AND INFRARED RADIATIONS), HARD ELECTRO-MAGNETIC RADIATIONS (IONIZING RADIATIONS -- X-RAYS, GAMMA-RAYS, ETC., AND EQUIVALENT RADIATIONS OF ELEMENTARY PARTICLES -- ELECTRONS, PROTONS, NEUTRONS, ETC.).

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 6613

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CHEMICAL: THE DIRECT EFFECT OF CHEMICAL AGENTS DELIVERED TO THE TARGET AREA (TRADITIONAL TYPE OF CHEMICAL EFFECT); THE EFFECT OF CHEMICAL AGENTS FORMED DIRECTLY IN THE TARGET AREA FROM NON-TOXIC OR LOW-TOXIC COMPONENTS DELIVERED TO THE TARGET AREA; THE EFFECT OF CHEMICAL AGENTS FORMED DIRECTLY IN THE TARGET AREA FROM NON-TOXIC MEDIA AND SUBSTANCES PRESENT IN THE TARGET AREA.

BIOLOGICAL: THE USE OF MICRO-ORGANISMS (MICROBES, RICKSETTSIA, VIRUSES, ETC.), PLANTS (PARASITIC FUNGI, WEEDS, ETC.). END TEXT.

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13. THE APPROACH TAKEN BY THE USSR TO EXPLAIN AND ADVOCATE THEIR MDW PROPOSAL, PARTICULARLY THE LANGUAGE NOTED IN PARA 12, ABOVE, HAD A CLEAR POTENTIAL FOR CREATING COUNTERPRODUCTIVE CONFUSION AS TO THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL TO EXISTING AGREEMENTS AND NEGOTIATIONS, ESPECIALLY IN THE AREAS OF BW, CW AND ENMOD. THAT POTENTIAL WAS CONVERTED INTO A REALITY IN STATEMENTS IN INFORMAL MEETINGS OF EXPERTS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA, GDR AND USSR, AND BY USSR REPRESENTATIVES IN BILATERAL US-USSR CONVERSATIONS. A FULL ACCOUNT OF THESE STATEMENTS, AND COUNTERING STATEMENTS BY FRG, NETHERLANDS, SWEDEN, UK AND US, DURING PERIOD AUGUST 5 THROUGH 12 IS

PRESENTED IN GENEVA 6536. THE EXPRESSIONS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA, GDR AND USSR, IF ALLOWED TO STAND, WOULD BE PARTICULARLY TROUBLESOME FOR THE BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION, THE GENEVA PROTOCOL, A PROSPECTIVE NEW CW AGREEMENT, AND THE PROSPECTIVE ENMOD AGREEMENT. THE HAZARDS WERE MODERATED SOMEWHAT BY DE-ESCALATION, DURING THE WEEK OF AUGUST 9 THROUGH 12, OF STATEMENTS BY GDR AND USSR; HOWEVER, THEY DID NOT (DURING THAT PERIOD) WITHDRAW THEIR ARGUMENTS THAT CERTAIN NEW KINDS OF POTENTIAL CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS WOULD NOT BE COVERED BY EXISTING OR PROSPECTIVE AGREEMENTS. PARTICULARLY TROUBLESOME FEATURE OF SOVIET STAND WAS ASSERTION THAT EXISTING AGREEMENTS DO NOT APPLY TO TYPES OF WEAPON CONCEPTS DEVELOPED AFTER ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THOSE EXISTING AGREEMENTS. LIKHACHEV PRESENTED A SUBSTANTIAL "CLARIFICATION" (REVISION) OF THE SOVIET POSITION IN HIS FORMAL STATEMENT ON AUGUST 17. IN THIS FORMAL STATEMENT, LIKHACHEV SEEMED TO ACKNOWLEDGE APPLICABILITY OF BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION TO NEW TYPES OF AGENTS OF BIOLOGICAL ACTION, AND HE SPOKE OF ADDING TO SOVIET PROPOSAL AN APPROPRIATE PROVISION FOR A BW EXCEPTION. HE ALSO INDICATED THAT SIMILAR TREATMENT WOULD BE EXTENDED TO NEW TYPES OF CW AND ENMOD, DEPENDING UPON THE SCOPE OF AGREEMENTS IN THESE AREAS. (US STATEMENT OF AUGUST 17 REPORTED GENEVA 6582. SOVIET AND OTHER STATEMENTS AUGUST 17 REPORTED SEPTTEL).

14. ATTEMPTS BY USSR AND THEIR EASTERN ASSOCIATES TO ILLUSTRATE CONCEIVABLE NEW TYPES OF MDW COVERED A VERY BROAD FRONT IN ADDITION TO CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES, E.G., LOW-FREQUENCY ACCUSTIC FIELDS, MICROWAVE RADIATION, THE SPACE SHUTTLE, AND MYSTERIOUS CAUSES OF EXTENSIVE CONFIDENTIAL

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LOSSES OF SHIPS AND AIRCRAFT IN CERTAIN GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS. THE US ARGUED THAT MOST OF THE EXAMPLES FALL OUTSIDE THE SCOPE OF OUR PERCEPTION OF THE REASONABLE MEANING OF MDW, AND MENTIONED THREE USSR EXAMPLES IN THIS CONNECTION; LOW-FREQUENCY ACOUSTIC AND ELECTROMAGNETIC FIELDS, AND FUEL/AIR EXPLOSIVES.

15 US REPRESENTATIVES ENCOURAGED FREQUENT REFERENCE TO THE 1948 UNGA DEFINITION OF "WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION" IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE RECOGNITION OF THE CONCEPT INCORPORATED IN THAT DEFINITION THAT "NEW MDW" SHOULD BE VIEWED AS "WEAPONS DEVELOPED IN THE FUTURE WHICH HAVE CHARACTERISTICS COMPARABLE IN DESTRUCTIVE EFFECT TO THOSE OF THE ATOMIC BOMB OR OTHER WEAPONS MENTIONED ABOVE" (I.E., RADIOACTIVE MATERIAL WEAPONS, LETHAL CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS). MOST, IF NOT ALL, OF THE SOVIET EXAMPLES OF "NEW MDW" DO NOT REASONABLY MEET THIS COMPARABILITY STANDARD. DURING THE PERIOD AUGUST 9 THROUGH 12, BOTH SOVIET EXPERTS

(FOKIN IN AN INFORMAL CCD MEETING AND SURIKOV IN A BILATERAL MEETING) WERE INDUCED TO ACKNOWLEDGE THIS COMPARABILITY STANDARD. LIKHATCHEV ACKNOWLEDGED THIS STANDARD IN HIS FORMAL STATEMENT ON AUGUST 17 AND HE DID SO IN CONTEXT OF EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO 1948 UNGA DEFINITION.

16. USSR, SUPPORTED BY STATEMENT BY EXPERT FROM HUNGARY, INCLUDED GENERAL ARGUMENT THAT IMPROVEMENTS IN PRECISION OF WEAPON DELIVERY COULD CONVERT A NON-MDW SYSTEM INTO AN MDW SYSTEM. NO WESTERN REPLY WAS OFFERED.

17. USSR ADDED MENTION OF LOGISTICS AND OTHER FACTORS IN WAY WHICH SEEMED INTENDED TO CONVEY THE NOTION THAT ANY KIND OF WEAPON, IF DELIVERED IN SUFFICIENT QUANTITY, COULD TAKE ON CHARACTERISTICS OF AN MDW.

18. GENERAL US POSTURE IN INFORMAL MEETINGS, WHICH MET WITH APPROVAL OF WESTERN GROUP, WAS THAT OF NO DECISION FOR OR AGAINST A COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON NEW MDW AND CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD SEEKING CLARIFICATION OF ISSUES INVOLVED.

19. REPRESENTATIVES OF SWEDEN POINTED OUT THAT SOVIET CONFIDENTIAL

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PROPOSAL WOULD REQUIRE A "FORECASTING FUNCTION" AS AN INHERENT FEATURE. US MADE SYMPATHETIC REFERENCE TO SWEDISH REMARKS ON THIS POINT AS AN INDIRECT WAY OF ADVISING SOVIETS THAT WE WOULD BE VERY CAUTIOUS ABOUT AIRING US IDEAS ON FUTURE WEAPON POTENTIALITIES.

20. STATEMENT BY SWEDISH EXPERT WAS HELPFUL IN POINTING OUT THAT ALL OF THE SOVIET REFERENCES TO SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE AND WEAPON POTENTIALITIES WERE FROM WESTERN SOURCES.

21. IN FIRST BILATERAL US/USSR MEETING, LIKHATCHEV EXPLICITLY STATED THAT SOVIET PROPOSAL NOT INTENDED TO APPLY TO ANY TYPES OF WEAPONS OR SYSTEMS CONTEMPLATED IN SALT AGREEMENTS OR NEGOTIATIONS.

22. IN LAST BILATERAL MEETING, LIKHATCHEV WAS QUITE PERSISTENT IN HIS ATTEMPT TO GET SOME INDICATION OF US WILLINGNESS TO TAKE SOME KIND OF NEXT STEP. HE WAS GIVEN NO SATISFACTION.

23. IN VIEW OF PARAS 13, 15, AND 21, ABOVE, THERE IS NOW A RECORD THAT WOULD PROVIDE SUPPORT FOR POSSIBLE US POSITION IN NEXT MEETING, IF ANY, ON SOVIET PROPOSAL THAT SCOPE OF DISCUSSION SHOULD BE LIMITED BY EXCLUSION OF:

(A) WEAPONS THAT DO NOT MEET THE COMPARABILITY STANDARD
OF THE 1948 UNGA DEFINITION OF "WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION."

(B) WEAPONS CONTEMPLATED IN SALT AGREEMENTS OR
NEGOTIATIONS.

(C) BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS.

(D) CHEMICAL WEAPONS, AT LEAST PENDING DEFINITIVE OUTCOME
OF NEGOTIATIONS ON A NEW CW AGREEMENT.

(E) ENMOD WEAPONS, AT LEAST PENDING DEFINITIVE OUTCOME
ON NEGOTIATIONS ON ENMOD CONVENTION.

(F) NUCLEAR WEAPONS. CATTO

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